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MONDAY, APRIL 2, 1928

WHOLE No. 578



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THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS¹

When we are considering the human element in Latin inscriptions, we must limit our attention perforce to a definite phase of that element. Accordingly, instead of discussing, as I might, the various terms of affection bereaved Romans inscribed on the stones that marked the resting-places of their beloved dead, or seeking to learn the various political offices, small or great, to which the legally-minded Roman aspired, I shall consider the no less human aspect of the persons in the Eternal City who moved in the common walks of life. From about one hundred and ninety pursuits, of such persons, the record of which I examined in inscriptions², I have selected about sixty as illustrative of the surprising likeness, in essentials, of ancient Roman life to our own.

Through these relatively few excerpts from the manifold relics of the classical civilization we can see with our own eyes a great part of the populace of ancient Rome in the unassuming guise of ordinary workingmen. Those of us who usually think of the Roman in the rôle of general, statesman, orator, or wealthy landowner forget that the great mass of the people never figured in any of these positions, but, even as it is with us, spent their lives in occupations that are not considered worthy of the name profession. Let us stroll, therefore, through the city of the Caesars, and meet with whomsoever we may, busied in his own simple way with the task that choice or circumstance made his.

Down by the Tiber's side, at the foot of the Aventine Hill, one detects much bustle and activity as the *horrearius*, 'storehouse superintendent' (9460-9471), is looking after the storage of the commodities that have come up from Ostia on barges, or else is busied with the *negotiatores* and the *mercatores*, 'wholesale dealers' (9652-9686; 9628-9633). The inscription of a certain C. Iulius Amarantus (9631) informs us that he was a wholesale dealer in pork and had his quarters in the Forum Suarium, located in the northern end of the city, between the Campus Agrippae and the Horti Lucullani. About the warehouses we also see such merchants as the *frumentarius*, 'dealer in grain' (9423-9427), the *materiarius*, 'dealer in lumber' (9561), the *fenarius*, 'dealer in hay' (9417), and a host of others engaged in supplying the city with its various pressing needs. There, too, would certainly be the *muliones* (9646), 'the carters', or 'truck-drivers', so to speak, of ancient times, lashing on their mules and donkeys, made stubborn by an unjust load of freight. When

great blocks of quarried marble were being hauled into the city to the expectant *lapidarius*, 'stone-cutter' (9502), life was almost overwhelming to the draught animal, and the Roman's lack of consideration for the dumb animals that served him was distressingly conspicuous. Most of these drivers, however, are being awaited in the city by the *tabernarii*, 'shop-keepers' (9919-9920), some of whom are unusually impatient to-day, because a clever thief eluded the watchman, *circitor* (9257), during the night, solved the metal mystery of the *clostrarius*, 'locksmith' (9260), and made away with a substantial portion of their wares. A failure to come to favorable terms with their banker, *argentarius* (9155-9190), might likewise have produced their chagrin.

Elsewhere in the wakeful city there are busily at work the *textores* and the *textrices*, 'weavers', male and female (6361-6362), and the *lintearii* (9526), who specialize in the weaving of linen fabrics. Nor would the poet with a modern bent be disappointed in his search for the *quassillaria*, 'the spinning-girl' (9849-9850), sitting as a patient subject for his elegiac distich or pithy epigram. The products of these humble toilers will find their way eventually into the hands of the *vestiarius*, 'clothes merchant' (9963), who may be a slave running a shop for his master, or a freedman now delighting to drop the returns of the day in his own strong-box (*arca*). The "sad and wretched folk that go in silken suits" would seek out a reliable *sericarius*, 'silk-dealer' (9890-9893), for that imported apparel which was to figure as a contributing cause (so some maintain) to the downfall of their country.

The convincing treatise of Dr. Lillian M. Wilson on The Roman Toga³ allows us to speak with assurance about the trade of the ancient tailor or clothes-maker, the *vestificus* (9979). Since it is now known that the toga was a tailored piece of cloth, it is not too great a stretch of the imagination to picture the Roman tailor striving to meet the demands of his various customers as dictated by their occupation, position, and personal taste.

Just as men in the ancient city had recourse to the skill and the convenience of a *vestificus*, so women resorted to the assistance of a *vestifica*, 'seamstress' (9980), in the making of their garments. To-day seamstresses and pins and needles fall into the same mental picture. So it may have been with the ancients. Surely, in laying out and cutting cloth, and in sewing it together the ancient suitmaker and dressmaker must have used some instruments corresponding in appearance, if not in material, to our common pins and needles. In fact, instruments which, it is likely, had that use have come down to us. Since the Latin word *acus* represents both pin and needle, it is reasonable to suppose that the term *acuarius*, applied in an inscription (9131) to a

¹This paper was read at the Twentieth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at the University of Pennsylvania, April 30-May 1, 1926.

²All the inscriptions that were utilized in this study are to be found in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Volume 6, Part 2. The numerical references in parentheses are to that Volume and Part.

³Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1924. Pp. 132).

certain Greek slave, Syntrophus Attianus, means nothing more than 'pin and needle maker'.

That the *fullo*, 'cleaner and presser of garments' (9428-9430), was a common adjunct to ancient society is evidenced not only by inscriptions, but also by archeological finds, especially at Pompeii⁴. Through these and through literary sources we learn that the clothes were put in good-sized vats partly filled with water, where they were cleaned by slaves who stamped and trod them. A fuller's shop, in fact, was merely an ancient laundry.

What might surprise us considerably in the matter of ancient retailers would be to learn that a *gaunacarius*, 'dealer in furs' (9431), found Rome a good place in which to ply his trade. Seldom do we think of the Roman as bundled up in garments necessary for winter weather, even though we have considerable literary evidence to prove that the city was subject to severe spells of cold⁵.

A matter that would surprise us less would be the information that clothing wore out quite as regularly in ancient Italy as it does in modern America, and that, therefore, a *sarcinator*, 'mender of clothes' (6348), filled a necessary position in the community life. Yet, despite his repeated efforts to save a garment, its reluctant owner would eventually have to pass it on to the ever-ready *centonarius*, 'old-clothes man' (9254). It is not strange to find that both men and women of old Rome, especially those of position and rank, made use of the services of a *vestiplicus*, 'a clothes-folder' or 'clothes-presser' (9981). It is likely, however, that such an attendant was a slave attached to individual households rather than a workman who offered his services to the public in general.

It will be interesting to turn our attention to dealers whose business it was to supply families with their everyday needs. The *cocus*, 'cook', or 'chef' (9261-9272), in getting supplies of meat would have to deal with the butcher, the *lanius* (9499-9501), or *macellarius* (9532). The *lanius* was more particularly a slaughterhouse man, whereas the *macellarius* was the actual retailer of meats. Since the Romans were so fond of sea-food, the *piscator*, 'fisherman' (9799-9801), was looked to continually for the delicacies which he had snared from the deep. When fresh fish was not available, the *salsamentarius*, 'dealer in salted fish' (9873), was resorted to. In addition to salting down sea food, the *salsamentarius*, it is thought, also prepared fish sauces.

That the bread consumed in a Roman city was not all baked by slaves in their respective households is shown by the remains of large mills and bakeries, at Pompeii especially, which served the public⁶. Therefore, when we read in numerous inscriptions that a certain man was a *pistor*, 'baker' or 'miller-baker' (9802-9812), we

are justified in picturing him as a worker in one of these large baking-houses (combination mill and bake shop).

To quiet the aching of the Roman sweet tooth, the *dulciarius*, 'the confectioner' or 'pastry cook' (9374), would go to great lengths to produce tasties. Just as our children on their way to School stop at the corner candy-shop for confections to munch during the recess, so the school-boy of old Rome paid his penny to a *dulciarius* for a cooky.

One of the most interesting inscriptions I examined has to do with a *pomarius*, a 'fruit-dealer' (9822). In addition to dedicating the stone to his own memory and to that of his wife, he records that he was POMAR·DE·CIRCO·MAXIMO·ANTE·PVLVINAR. Now there is a great difference of opinion among modern scholars as to the exact meaning and application of the term *pulvinar*. It is generally agreed that it often refers to the cushions of a couch to receive only mortals, or to receive the images of the gods at the *lectisternium*. In the sense of an easy luxurious couch it was used as a synonym for the Imperial Box at the Circus⁷. The inscription would then seem to mean that the fruit-dealer was licensed to carry on his business in the Circus, and that his stand was located before the Emperor's box⁸. Among a people that included so much fruit in their diet, the *pomarius*, undoubtedly, found his trade highly profitable.

Since wines, both good and bad, figure so largely in Latin literature, we must have a word about the *vinarius*, or 'wine-dealer' (9993). We know that, along with grain and olive oil, wine was one of the staple articles in every Roman household. The trade in this commodity, therefore, must have been one of the most extensive in the city. The tombstone of a certain freedman, P. Sergius Demetrius (9993), informs us that he was a wine-dealer, who had his booth down in the Velabrum⁹.

That fresh produce came into Rome in large quantities from the outlying rural districts seems to be indicated by the fact that a large section of the Velabrum was called the Forum Holitorium, 'Vegetable Market'. Many inscriptions record the names of *holitores*, 'kitchen gardeners' (9457-9459). Vegetable food, indeed, was more prominent than animal food in the diet of the Roman. This was true of the modern Italian prior to the World War, which taught him the use of meat in unwholesome quantities.

It is well known that to the Italian and the European in general the beauty of nature when it has been

⁷In support of this interpretation compare Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, Volume 4, Part 1, 766 (Paris, Hachette). See also Suetonius, Augustus 45, Claudius 4.

⁸I can not refrain from saying that this seems to me a queer place for the stand of a *pomarius*, especially if, as various writers say, the *pulvinar* was on 'the Palatine side of the circus...' (so e.g. J. H. Westcott and E. M. Rankin, in a note on Suetonius, Augustus 45, in their edition of the *Julius* and the *Augustus* of Suetonius [Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1918]; compare Samuel Ball Platner, *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, 405 [Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1911]). It may be noted that, in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* 19, Augustus himself declares that, besides many other structures, *pulvinar ad Circum Maximum*... *fecit*. None of the editors of the *Monumentum* (Diehl, Hardy, Fairley, Robinson) really discusses the meaning of Augustus's words. C. K. >

⁹For wine shops see Mau-Kelsey, 402-404 (see note 4, above).

⁴See August Mau and Francis W. Kelsey, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, 303-307 (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1902).

⁵Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 8-9 (New York and Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1897).

⁶Professor Lanciani gives as literary sources Dionysius 12.8; Livy 5.13.1; St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 3.17; Horace, *Carmina* 1.9.1-4; Martial 4.18.

⁶Mau-Kelsey, 386, 388-392 (see note 4, above).

labored over, modified, and constrained by human hands and designs seems preferable to the wild, awesome, unconstrained natural growths that characterize the uninhabited portions of the American Southwest and of the Canadian Northwest¹⁰. This feeling the modern European inherits from Roman civilization, for we learn that persons whose homes in the city were rather pretentious and whose villas in the country were grand and commodious had a distinct need for the skill and the services of a *topiarius*, 'ornamental gardener' (9943-9949). Under his hands and direction the *hortus* behind the *peristylum* in the town house would assume some of the freshness and openness of the country, and the landscape surrounding the villa in the country would lose some of its wildness by giving evidence of the presence and the efforts of human beings.

Those who were too busy at the noon hour to run home for their *prandium*, 'lunch', would stay their hunger at a cook-shop, *popina*, which was run by a *popinarius*, 'cook at a *popina*' (9825-9826). It is easy to believe that the keepers of such shops performed a distinct service to the populace. A visitor to the ruins of Pompeii will find in many of the streets the remains of small shops that suggest the *popina*. The counter running parallel to the sidewalk still shows the recesses in which earthen jars containing food were placed. Beneath the counter is a space in which charcoals smouldered, to keep the food in the jars warm¹¹.

Many inscriptions (9566-9617) refer to *medici*, 'physicians', whose names indicate that the majority of them were Greeks by birth or by ancestry.

We shall now consider in rapid succession a miscellaneous group of workers whom we should meet in various parts of the city. If we were to pass from the Forum up into the Subura by way of the Argiletum, we should find along this narrow thoroughfare the stalls of the *bybliopolae*, 'book-sellers' (9218). The mention of their trade suggests at once the *chartarius*, 'paper merchant' (9255-9256), and the *pugilarius*, 'maker of writing tablets' (9841). The names in the inscriptions testify that these trades were largely in the hands of Greeks, who had been freed by their masters. Close by we should find the *aurifices*, 'goldsmiths' (9202-9214), the *clostrarii*, 'locksmiths' (9260), and the *gemmarii*, 'jewellers' (9433-9437). One inscription (9434) tells of a certain *gemmarius*, by the name of L. Albius Themella, who had his shop on the Sacra Via. Near the jeweller we should find the *margaritarii*, 'dealer in pearls' (9543-9549). As ladies touring in Rome to-day spend ecstatic hours in the jewelry shops and in the pearl shops of the Piazza di Spagna and in the Via Condotti, so we can picture Roman ladies in the days of the Caesars sighing with longing over the counters of the jeweller and the dealer in pearls.

¹⁰This interesting remark throws light on such an expression as *horrenti... atrum nemus imminet umbra*, Aeneid 1.165. Note the adjectives, in a passage in which Vergil is describing a peaceful scene. C. K. >

¹¹See Mau-Kelsey, 276-278 (compare note 4, above).

The grouping of related trades along certain streets was the common practice in the old city, a situation that still obtains in the old quarters of many continental communities¹².

As we now begin to thread our way home, we pass by the shops of the *sigillarius*, 'the image maker' (9894), of the *candelabarius*, 'the candlestick maker' (9227-9228), of the *musicarius*, 'the musical instrument maker' (9649). We meet several *aquarii*, 'water carriers' (9145), who gaily offer the passers-by a refreshing drink. Where the Argiletum runs into the Subura, we are somewhat surprised to find the shop of a *tonstrix*, 'a female barber' (9941), and we are at once reminded of Martial's witty epigram (2.17):

Tonstrix Suburae faucibus sedet primis,
cruenta pendent qua flagella tortorum
Argique letum multos obsidet sutor.

Sed ista tonstrix, Ammiane, non tondet,
non tondet, inquam. Quid igitur facit? Radit.

In the same vicinity we note the presence of similar shops run by *tonsores*, 'male barbers' (9937-9940). Since from time immemorial the barber shop has been a resting-place and loafing-place, both in ancient Greece and Rome as well as in modern countries, we shall drop in at one of these shops to rest from our tour of the town¹³.

In this scanty account I have barely skimmed the surface of the abundant material that was at our disposal. Many picturesque figures have been deprived of a place for no other reason than that the list is too long for a brief paper. Moreover, I have purposely omitted quoting and discussing the text of the various inscriptions, and have been content to assume that the occurrence and the duplication in them of a large number of names of trades points to the existence of a multiplicity of common occupations in old Rome¹⁴. I may, at least, have brought to the livelier consciousness of my hearers the fact that an ancient city as well as a modern metropolis supported a large populace of the lowly that catered to the manifold wants of urban life. To those who wish to carry that particular inquiry into ancient private life to more conclusive lengths it should be evident that a most interesting storehouse of information awaits them in the body of inscriptions.

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FRANKLIN B. KRAUSS

¹²See my remarks in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.193-194. C. K. >

¹³See an article entitled Greek and Roman Barbers, by F. W. Nicolson, in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 2.41-56 (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1891). C. K. >

¹⁴One cannot go far in his study of the trades without consulting the following monumental work: J. P. Waltzing, Étude Historique sur les Corporations Professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Chute de l'Empire, Volumes 1-2 (Louvain, 1895).

The following excellent dissertation is most enlightening in this connection: Roman Craftsmen and Tradesmen of the Early Empire, by Dr. Ethel H. Brewster (Menasha, Wisconsin, Banta Publishing Company, 1917). See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12. 38-39.

<Since Dr. Krauss has here gone outside the inscriptions, I venture to add a reference to a paper of mine, Roman Business Life as Seen in Horace, The Classical Journal 3.111-112 (January, 1907). C. K. >

REVIEWS

Die Religion der Griechen. Erster Band: Von den Anfängen bis Hesiod. Von Otto Kern. Berlin: Weidmann (1926). Pp. viii + 308.

In no field of classical study have the results of the last hundred years done more to change prevalent conceptions than in the study of Greek religion. Evidence of several sorts, archaeological, epigraphical, linguistic, anthropological, and, above all, the study of the literature with a new sense of historical perspective have revealed unsuspected depths in Greek religious experience. But the task has required great tact and patience and more caution in discriminating between facts and speculative interpretations than some of the investigators have possessed. It is the special merit of Professor Otto Kern that he combines with a wide knowledge of the data a laudable determination to draw only such conclusions as the data will fairly warrant. In the work under review, *Die Religion der Griechen, Von den Anfängen bis Hesiod*, he cites Greek texts adequately; he draws freely on the conclusions of numerous German treatises, without often citing the special evidence involved; writings in English and other modern languages he all but completely ignores (a glaring instance is the total omission of any reference to A. B. Cook's work, *Zeus*). The book is obviously not intended for beginners; if it were, a more systematic exposition of many points would be necessary.

The chief argument of the book may be briefly summarized for the benefit of those who are not specialists in the field. The author first threads his way warily through the earliest phases of pre-Hellenic religion in the Aegean world, fetish stones and blocks of wood, and beast cults (but not totemism, in the strict sense); survivals of these he notes in the epithets of later anthropomorphic gods, and in myths and works of art that represent metamorphoses. He traces the gradual emergence of anthropomorphic divinities, recognizing the transitional stages indicated by the use of empty thrones and such symbols as double axes.

An important section deals with the pre-Hellenic chthonian cults, those of the dead being distinguished from those of gods of the underworld. The cult of an Earth-Mother appears to be pre-Hellenic; the Greeks in general introduced male divinities. Some of the pre-Hellenic divinities (notably Demeter) were transformed and included in the Olympian religion. The story of the War of the Gods with the Titans is the oldest aetiological myth preserving the memory of the pre-Hellenic religion; some of the epithets of Zeus show clearly his appropriation of the names of earlier mountain gods—for example, the epithet expressing his descent from Kronos, a pre-Hellenic mountain-god. Other survivals of this early religion are to be found in classic and even in modern times in the form of ghosts, witch craft, and the tradition of a 'wild hunt'.

The first traces of anthropomorphism are obscure. Apart from the notion of a divine fragrance revealing at times the presence of divinity, Professor Kern finds the germ of the idea of anthropomorphism in

the reproductive forces of nature, which seemed to require family relationships. The cult of fertility, prominent in the pre-Hellenic mysteries at Eleusis and elsewhere, thus projected into cosmic forms the human marriage-relationship in a 'sacred marriage', and also permitted diverse cults to be united by myths representing divine genealogies. Interesting survivals show the fusion of anthropomorphic religion with previous cults. Thus we have the Arcadian legend linking Demeter and Poseidon with an ancient horse-cult; and Leto, a pre-Hellenic goddess, is connected with Apollo by the myth of her marriage with Zeus. The conflicts of cults resulted in the complicated family relationships of the gods, and often developed the myths of polygamy that have seemed, if they were not understood, intrinsically immoral. Again, the hostility of Hades and Persephone, two chthonian divinities, is symbolized by the myth of a marriage by capture. The immortality of the gods is not the original conception (there was a 'grave of Zeus' in Crete), but was derived, it seems, from vegetation cults that represented the perennial rebirth of nature. And, finally, when the conception of a 'soul' arose, it took the form of a bird, or of some other winged creature, often in human shape.

The gods might come and go; the place of worship, mountain or cave, remained a hallowed spot. Temples were therefore built on the sites of earlier shrines, and attributes of earlier gods were retained. But Professor Kern disputes the current derivation of modern shrines of St. Elias on mountains from a primitive cult of the sun (Helios); Apollo as a sun-god, and Artemis as a moon-goddess were later developments. Apollo was at first a shepherd-god; Artemis, though a great goddess in primitive times, had no great cult (save at Eleusis), and had no temple at Athens (but rather a number of small shrines), because, as Professor Kern argues, her worship was one of the heart and was confined to no special sites. Other gods, such as Ares, presided over special occupations; still others, like Herakles, best distinguished as 'heroes', won divinity through toil. There always remained a class of nameless gods, undifferentiated beings, or beings named only by epithets or by terms of relationship, as having significance only as associated with other gods; some, perhaps, remained nameless through religious awe.

With the beginnings of the Mysteries at Eleusis and the Orphic Mysteries, Professor Kern deals briefly; doubtless the fuller treatment will come in a later volume. He emphasizes, of course, the fact that this form of religion is pre-Hellenic and is in many of its features un-Greek. It may be questioned, however, whether Professor Kern and many other writers sufficiently appreciate the close connection between the *askesis* of the mysteries, crude though it be, and the qualities of mind and character that are most Greek and that find their perfect expression in Plato and Aristotle.

Many elements in primitive worship are well reviewed by Professor Kern: invocations to the gods, like 'konx ompax', surviving from remote ages and no longer understood by the worshippers; ritual hymns

from which gods and epithets were hypostatized (Hymen, Paian, Iakchos); offerings to the gods, closely related to their anthropomorphic character; the building of temples; the absence of a priestly class; ritual dances and the evolutions of bands of mummers; the 'things done' (*ta dromena*, the original meaning of the expression being narrowed to signify the enactment of a sacred myth—i. e. 'drama':—one at Eleusis was strangely like the Christian Nativity); games, processions, and consecrations of offerings (especially locks of hair).

Next comes an account of the victory of the religion of the Hellenes—the cult of Zeus, the god of heaven, whose site was first at Dodona, and then on Olympus and other mountains. On Mt. Lykaion his worship was fused with an earlier wolf-cult and human sacrifice; elsewhere he absorbed, as Zeus Chthonios or Zeus Meilichios, elements of chthonian cults. At first he was merely the type, translated to heaven, of the heroic absolute monarch, modelled on the character of the earthly princes who claimed descent from him. But he had to find a relationship with earlier gods. Therefore Athene, a pre-Hellenic goddess, was born of him without a mother; to other pre-Hellenic goddesses of earth he was married in as many myths. With only one of them, Hera, however, was associated a special site, Argos; she became a goddess of heaven. Poseidon, too, was transformed from being a land-god, presiding over horses, springs, and streams, into his more familiar character as a sea-god. These and other divinities had found their respective functions before the composition of the Homeric Poems; but, as Herodotus observes in a famous passage (2.53; slighted by Professor Kern), it was chiefly Homer and Hesiod who fixed their functions and attributes in men's minds. As examples of the spread of the cults of individual divinities from their original cult-sites, and of their acquisition thereby of new traits and functions, Professor Kern deals in some detail with Demeter, Dionysus, and the Kabeiroi (all essentially pre-Hellenic or non-Hellenic, it should be noted).

A chapter discusses the work of Hesiod, a peasant, but the exponent of the religion not of Mother Earth but of the Olympians. Professor Kern rightly observes that, in spite of his ethical interest, Hesiod's theogony hardly becomes theology. Yet his thought, containing scarcely a hint of mystical religion, nevertheless was the vessel into which the wine of Dionysus was later poured.

A final chapter deals with *Eusebeia*, reverence first for fetish objects and then for gods who can help mankind. It is a curious fact that, although a familiar trait of the Olympian gods is their 'envy', there is not a trace of this quality in the chthonian gods. It is perhaps first in Hesiod, after all, that we find the idea that the gods are not merely powerful monarchs, and that we can demand even greater moral excellence of them than of men; the idea is carried much further by Aeschylus, aided by the teaching of the Orphics. Professor Kern adduces an interesting array of evidence for the presence of reverence or piety among the Greeks: the ritual of daily life and of the calendar;

the eternal sanctity of ancient sites and of old offerings once dedicated; the depiction in early art of men as smaller than the gods, and of women kneeling in prayer; the preservation of primitive words in ritual and in magic. But he does well to remark in conclusion that the Greeks were not mere idol-worshippers, and that, though they were mostly conservative ritualists, we shall miss the meaning of their religion if we do not realize that still more significant than their outward piety is their sense of relationship to nature or to a power behind nature, that could evoke, at its best, such a prayer as that of Socrates at the end of Plato's *Phaedrus*: 'Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and the inward man be at one'. This deeper significance of Greek religion, it is to be hoped, Professor Kern will discuss in the later volumes of his work.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM C. GREENE

The Immortal Marriage. By Gertrude Atherton. New York: Boni and Liveright (1927). Pp. 466.

In *The Immortal Marriage* Mrs. Atherton has given us the story of Aspasia and of Pericles. She starts with the young Aspasia in Miletus, after her father's death, on the point of leaving for Athens with the architect Hippodamus and his wife "Zosmē". The story goes on in Athens, with the social and intellectual triumphs of Aspasia, her marriage with Pericles, and the historical events in which Pericles and Aspasia were involved until the death of Pericles.

It is always interesting to a professional classicist to observe how far the concentrated study of a comparatively short time can give to a novelist a real understanding of the classical civilization. It would be surprising if the acquisition should be complete; but, even if it be imperfect, there are some things which we have a right to demand. One is that the proper names shall be spelled correctly, and that they shall harmonize with the period in which the story is laid. Mrs. Atherton has offered (on page 465) her excuse for inconsistencies of orthography; but it does not seem quite adequate. We find the month "Mounichion" (26.21), and the festival "Mounichia" (194.9), and the place "Munychia" (34.30); "Zosmē", "Athenē", "Elpinike", although the final *e* is sounded alike in all three names ("Zosmē" is, of course, an impossible name in Greek; it is, perhaps, meant for 'Zosime'); "Mnescles", an obvious error for 'Mnesicles'; "Panatheneia", always, and "Propylaea", always; "Phillipus" (207.29), and "Philoppos" (351.35), as names of the father of Aristophanes; "Hippocleides" (51.20) and "Telekleides" (190.38).

Other personal names have suffered severely. We find "Icnitus" (44.21), for 'Ictinus'; "Telpolemus" (199.31), for 'Tlepolemus'; "Alcmæonoid" (229.29), for 'Alcmaeonid'; these are, however, spelt correctly elsewhere. There are also "Koroælus" (191.8), for 'Coroebus' or 'Koroibos'; "Philolus" (208.7), for 'Phi-

¹By the unfortunate omission of a negative, Professor Kern's translation of the prayer gives just the wrong sense.

²The references in parentheses are to pages and lines.

lolaus'; "Xyppus" (252.13), for heaven-knows-what; "Phyrra" (252.18 and many times), for 'Pyrrha'; "Perdiccus" (336.7, etc.), for 'Perdiccas'; "Phalilus" (347.23), for 'Phalius'; "Asclepius" (428.8), for 'Asclepios'; and "Euryphtholemus" (446.17). Pericles's brother is "Ariphon" instead of 'Ariphron' (or, possibly, 'Arrhiphron'). One prominent Athenian matron receives the Roman name "Constantia", unknown until 300 A.D.; the faithful old slave has the Roman name "Marcus". "Rhea" (246.5) is an Athenian matron with a name reserved for a certain goddess and for the mother of Romulus and Remus. "Dianana" (333.24) is another impossible Latin name, not known to the dictionary.

The geography and the topography also have their defects. What is "the Diomeisan Gate" of Athens (86.18)? Why is the Dionysiac Theater called "the Dionysus" (128.8, and *passim*)? Why is 'Priene' transformed to "Priene" (235.37, and consistently elsewhere)? What is "the Archarnic Gate" of Athens (321.25, etc.)? How about "Archanania" (375.4)? Can it properly be called one of "the Peloponnesian States" (375.3)? But this may be said in a military sense rather than in a geographical sense. There still remain "Archarnae... the most populous of all the Attic demes..." (402.30, etc.), the town "Artacus" (403.34), the "district of Cephallenia" (403.36), "the Loracian towns" (404.1: for 'the towns of Locris?'); and "Trozen" (430.8).

There are some curious words supposedly from the Greek. "Pedagogus" (*sic!* 180.22, 25, and many other times) is endowed with a plural "pedagogæ" (278.26, 352.9). "cleruchæ" (189.1, 346.34) is a plural of "cleruchia" (189.26); "ostrakæ" (155.2) is a plural of a plural! We find "eumenide" (163.8, etc.) is a singular form existing neither in Greek nor in English.

Mrs. Atherton has followed the historical records pretty closely, especially in her use of Jowett's translation of Thucydides, from which she has taken verbatim (without acknowledgment) the famous oration over the dead of the first year of the Peloponnesian War (410-417). Naturally she has added details where none is preserved; that was her privilege and her duty. But I can hardly believe that Aspasia's fame as a philosopher should have been so great while she was still in Miletus, and could have preceded her to Athens. My credulity does not extend to believing that Pericles, in the midst of a speech before the Assembly, caught a glimpse of her as she was riding up from the Piraeus on her arrival, and was instantly enamored, or that Socrates was one of her hopelessly infatuated admirers. Herodotus can hardly have been in Athens and already famous at the time at which he is so represented. Then, too, Mrs. Atherton unquestionably belittles the affection of husband and wife among the ancient Athenians, and idealizes the relations existing between men—either misunderstanding or intentionally ennobling what does not deserve such treatment.

There are numerous other points, having in the main to do with Greek life, in which Mrs. Atherton goes astray. I shall take some from my jottings. The law against mixed marriages was passed, probably,

not before Aspasia came to Athens (24.20-32), but after her arrival. The "twin goddesses" (43.14) are probably the Goddesses Twain, Demeter and Persephone. The crossing of the Styx could not be avoided by those going to Elysium, despite 48.19. The "solid figure of ivory and gold" (49.11) becomes corrected to a statue covered with plates of ivory and gold (247.1-7). At 53.23 we read, "She... saw a long line of triremes riding slowly on the Bay of Phaleron..." They were doubtless riding at anchor: so why the word "slowly"? To call Themistocles a plebeian (70.36) is to mix terminologies, to say the least. "...The others, reclining, were dipping their cups into an immense silver krater passed round by a slave..." (170.19) is hardly correct, since it eliminates the use of the *cyathus* <would an "immense silver krater" be passed round by a slave? C. K.>. The hiss in the roar of excited Athenians (173.32) would not in Greek distinguish the name Thucydides (Thukydides) from the name Pericles. Nor would the 'hiss' distinguish the names even in English if *k* were used for Greek kappa. Besides, both names end in a sibilant. "Hellenistic philosophy" (192.25) is an error for 'Hellenic philosophy'. The "drop curtain" in the Dionysiac Theater (196.17) is an anachronism, even as a background. There is a reference to slaves "on the roofs near the theatre" (198.6); to one who knows the location of the theater it is very doubtful if there were any buildings whose roofs gave such a view of the performance in the Dionysiac Theater. "...that Athenian maxim: nothing too much!" (242.1) is said to have originated, in fact, with Chilon of Sparta; it appears first in literature in the writings of the Megarian Theognis and the Boeotian Pindar. "Pericles Y" (245.23, etc.) is a puzzling abbreviation for 'Pericles the Younger', son of Pericles and Aspasia. The inability of Alcibiades to pronounce *r* and his replacement of its sound by *l* is historical; but this replacement would be before and between vowels; the sound would simply disappear before consonants. Hence "guald" (267.13) involves a phonetic error. Elsewhere (e.g. 180.10-11, 181.14, 29, 30) the *r*'s are left unchanged. Also, at 267.13, 15, "Xanthippus" becomes 'Xantippus' in the mouth of Alcibiades, but the *th* of *threshold* remains unchanged ("thleshold", 267.14): why? "Knossos and Hagia Triada" (317.12) is a curious chronological couple. "A seat in the chariot" (322.3) implies some vehicle other than a chariot. The words "...Odeum...crowded to the dome" (328.32-34) sound rather queer, since the Odeum had no dome; further, it was not built till five centuries later. The frieze of the Parthenon was visible properly only to persons *outside* the colonnade; Mrs. Atherton has this reversed (332.4). "Europe, Asia, and Africa" (335.27) is anachronistic terminology. "...One unfavorable vote would have condemned him <Phidias>..." (343.24): no, it was an unfavorable *majority* of one that would have condemned him. "...Aspasia was not an uncommon name in Ancient Greece", says Mrs. Atherton (466, end). I wonder what the authority is for this statement: the only other certain Aspasia listed in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, is the concubine of

Cyrus the Younger (there is a possible third, in a mutilated name in an inscription).

There are some infelicities in the English, such as omitted relatives (189.1, 197.20, 331.11: these are not in the conversations), relatives preceded by "and" (27.19, 133.26-27), without a preceding relative clause, the relative in a double construction (28.19: "...A grape that the sun had forgotten to kiss and never will sparkle in a goblet of wine"), misplaced correlatives (29.12: "were either bribed...or...were anxious..."), and sentences or expressions which are ambiguous or hard to understand (157.2-4; 338.13: "games for dissipation"; 345.23: antecedent of "he"?; 353.22; 363.37-38: use of "all-powerful"). 'Passing' means 'extremely', but at 327.18 it is used for 'moderately'; 'ingenuous' seems to be used (363.22-23) for 'disingenuous'.

The punctuation is quite unsatisfactory.

These are the reasons why, in my opinion, although Mrs. Atherton has held her story very close to the known historical facts, we may say that her book is one more proof that it is impossible to acquire by 'cramming', that is by concentrated study for a limited period of time, a true and adequate understanding and appreciation of ancient Greece.

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First Latin Book, With Primer of Roman History. By Celia Ford. New York: Henry Holt and Company (1926). Pp. + 480 + liii.

Miss Celia Ford's First Latin Book consists of eighty-four Lessons (1-396), followed by a Primer of Roman History in ten chapters of Roman history (written partly in English, partly in Latin: 399-466), an Appendix of fourteen pages (467-480), the usual Vocabularies (i-l), and a Subject Index (li-liii). The size of the book is so great and its pages have such a crowded, uninteresting appearance that one wonders whether the pupil, after he has seen this formidable volume, will feel inspired to begin the study of Latin. If he proves brave (or docile) enough even for this, he will surely have to devote at least three semesters to the mastery of this book, for no ordinary child of twelve or thirteen could manage it in less time; herein lies the book's greatest fault.

According to the Preface (iii), the eighty-four Lessons are "sub-divided into one hundred and thirty-six assignment units..." On the face of things it looks simple enough to cover these assignments in a School year; but, when one examines the length of the assignment units, the matter proves to be not as simple as it seems. Note, for example, the two assignments of Lesson XLIV. The first includes the declensions of the six demonstratives, much explanatory matter concerning their uses, and sixteen sentences for translation (ten from Latin into English, six from English into Latin)—about four pages in all; the second contains a section of what Miss Ford calls "Social Study" (of which more presently), the development of the rule for genitive and ablative of description, a half-page of connected Latin prose adapted from Caesar's account of the Helvetian War, and four English

sentences for translation into Latin. Either Miss Ford is an optimist or she has had exceptional pupils; only the latter sort of pupils could master such an amount of material in two lessons, even at the end of a semester's study.

Besides, there are many Lessons in the book that are not subdivided, and most of these are much too long for one recitation period. Lesson XXXIX (180-183), which will be met about the thirteenth week of the School year, contains the pluperfect and future perfect indicative active of the four regular conjugations and of *sum* and *possum*, some exercises that require the writing of more than thirty Latin forms, besides oral work, and the translation of eight Latin sentences. Lesson LXXXIV (391-396), the last of the so-called lessons, contains nearly three pages, in English, upon Pyrrhus and the Romans followed by more than three pages of Latin upon the same topic.

What does the author expect can be done with the sixty-seven pages (399-466) of Roman history (partly in English, partly in Latin) we find in the book in addition to the eighty-four Lessons? Granting that this material is valuable, the reviewer wonders whether it belongs in a beginner's Latin book. It would seem that it is the province of the Department of History to present this matter, and that, in fact, it is presented by that Department in the second year of most courses in the Secondary School.

The great length of many of the Lessons in this book is caused in part by the numerous directions to the pupil that the author has seen fit to include. Many of these hints are very good. Note e. g. on page 6, How to Study Latin Vocabulary, and on page 8, How to Translate Latin into English. Among these should be mentioned, too, the sections entitled Social Study, to which reference has been made. These sections, which occur quite frequently throughout the book, contain suggestions for several pupils to study together in the preparation of the Latin lesson. To this reviewer there would seem to be grave danger in encouraging this practice. Would the pupil who had become accustomed to studying with others carry out the suggestion on page 96, "...Written work calls, not for social study, but for *silent study*"? (the italics are the author's; the reviewer thinks that they are necessary).

The development of the rules of syntax is carefully done, but it is often too wordy. In teaching forms, there is too much emphasis upon natural and grammatical gender, and too much talk about formative endings. In this connection, there is much use of diagrams, many of which seem rather useless, e. g. the spool on page 35. Some of the diagrams do not clarify, e. g. that in § 132, on page 80. Many teachers will disapprove the order in which the various topics are presented, especially the postponement of the subjunctive to Lesson LXXV and of the participles and the ablative absolute to Lessons LXXXI and LXXXII.

Two features in the beginning of the book seem particularly commendable. The preparation for the first declension is slowly and carefully made, and the pupil is able to translate simple sentences as early as Lesson II,

although the declension is not presented until Lesson IX. This introduction to the subject of Latin can not fail to interest the pupil. Again, the first vocabularies are very cleverly arranged. It seems a pity that the scheme was not followed throughout the book. After grouping the words according to their meaning, so that they can be easily memorized, the author gives the words by a single alphabetical list without meanings. It seems to the reviewer that this is an ideal arrangement. It must be added, though, that most of the early vocabularies are far too long. The first, for example, contains twenty-seven words, the second twenty-two, and the third twenty-six. The vocabularies contain no mention of derivatives, but this subject is quite exhaustively treated in other places, and, as far as it is limited to easy English derivatives, it is well done. It is the opinion of the reviewer, however, that much material included here does not belong in a beginner's book. For example, in § 385 the formation of Latin nouns in *-las* and *-lus* is discussed, and in § 482 that of Latin adjectives in *-eus* is presented.

The best features of this book seem to the reviewer to be (1) the reading material in English regarding Roman life and customs, and (2) that in Latin set for translation. Under (1), we find such titles as the following: The Roman School, Roman Proper Names, Urbs Roma, Domus Romana, Viae Romanae, Agricultura Romana. This material is all well-chosen and cannot fail to lend interest to the study of Latin and to give the pupil something of a cultural background. The only problem for the teacher to solve is how to make time for it all. Under (2), there is a great variety of material ranging from short sentences to connected passages covering several pages. The short sentences in Latin as well as those in English occur in almost every lesson and are good. They are sensible in their content, and involve, for the most part, the vocabulary and constructions to be found in Caesar. Among the longer passages are selections from the Bible, *Sententiae* from famous Latin authors, adaptations from Caesar's Commentaries, short poems such as *Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star*, and stories in Latin, such as *Little Red Ridinghood* and *Androclus and the Lion*. This material is mostly well-graded and interesting, but again the teacher's problem will be to find time for it.

This book contains fewer and uglier illustrations than any other beginner's Latin book that the reviewer has seen for some years. In this respect, it offers a sharp contrast to the other recent books in the field, and almost reconciles one to illustrations copied from the movies—those are attractive, at least. The only illustration in color is the frontispiece, which is a pale-hued map of *Maximum Imperium Romanum*.

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The Problem of Claudius. Some Aspects of a Character Study. By Thomas DeCoursey Ruth. Johns Hopkins Dissertation, 1916¹. Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press. Pp. 138.

Mr. Thomas DeCoursey Ruth's dissertation, *The Problem of Claudius*, is an interesting study of the evidence found in Suetonius and elsewhere in an effort to determine what was the matter with Claudius. Since no separate study of this Emperor has appeared more recently than the year 1876, the author felt (8-9) that

For a detailed character study of Claudius there would therefore seem to be room at this time, and indeed the present work was first undertaken with the publication of the results of such a study in view. However, it was undertaken also with the intention of laying due stress upon Claudius's physical and mental peculiarities, with the object of arriving, if possible, at a proper estimate of their exact nature and extent and of their influence or effect upon Claudius's personality, character and reputation....

While claiming, as a classical student, no peculiar aptitude or preparation for a study of this kind, the author (13)

...has not felt altogether presumptuous in attempting such a subject, especially as he has not worked without the guiding hands of several medical men who have given him the benefit of their advice and criticism....

After a long and detailed discussion of the material at hand, he sums up, in Chapter VII, *Diagnosis and Conclusion* (113-137). Some of his views it will be of interest to reproduce here.

Dr. Ruth believes (113) that "Claudius was probably born prematurely", and that (131) "he suffered from one of the forms of infantile spastic paralysis, ... and that he bore the residual effects of the paralysis in after life..." Later (133), Dr. Ruth says, "his trouble may more accurately be defined as ... Little's disease..." He considers (135) that "...Claudius was neither imbecile, insane, nor even in the border-land of insanity, in the strictly scientific sense of the terms..."

Dr. Ruth's presentation and interpretation of the evidence are exceedingly interesting, and one is inclined to regard his conclusions as more probable than earlier diagnoses of idiocy, cretinism, degeneracy, epilepsy, and alcoholism.

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¹Though Mr. Ruth's dissertation was accepted so long ago, it was not published till 1926, or 1925 at the earliest. No date of publication is given in the book. Further, there is no Preface to explain why publication was so long delayed, or why, after the delay had taken place, the work was published. None the less the work deserves notice. Many will be glad to know of the conclusions reached by Dr. Ruth as the result of painstaking study. C. K. >